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Mr. Chairman, members of the Subcommittee, it is an honor to appear before you today to participate in a discussion on the current situation in Sudan, and the prospects for a durable peace in this troubled country. I'm going to talk today about what could be described as humanitarian threats to peace and security in Sudan. They pose the greatest threat right now in Darfur, and I will spend most of my time here addressing these. However, I will begin by briefly touching on events in the East and South.

While Eastern Sudan is home to the country's ports and part of its pipeline, malnutrition and maternal mortality rates are among the highest in the country, and its people suffer from what the World Food Program (WFP) calls chronic structural poverty. Like the residents of Southern Sudan and Darfur, the people of Eastern Sudan have historically held little political or economic power and have struggled with marginalization, repression, and a lack of social services. Left unaddressed these factors combine to fuel opposition in the East. The recent initiation of peace talks between Eastern Front rebels and the government present some promise of change. USAID will continue to support activities there with the aim of improving the lives of the citizens in this neglected, underserved region. USAID activities in Eastern Sudan focus on general food and humanitarian interventions, including food security, emergency health and nutrition, water and sanitation, and livelihood interventions. We will also increase our efforts to support activities which support community-based peace building and reconciliation mechanisms.

In the South, USAID is actively involved in supporting the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which brought an end to Sudan's devastating north-south conflict. While some aspects of Comprehensive Peace Agreement implementation are behind schedule, significant progress towards peace has been made. Peacekeepers are on the ground, roads are being repaired, children are being vaccinated, and refugees and displaced people are returning. Two years ago not many would have believed we would come this far. USAID's reconstruction programs in Southern Sudan are integrated with humanitarian programs to help reduce suffering, promote stability, and mitigate the causes of conflict. Every activity seeks to build human and institutional capacity, increase access to accurate and reliable information, and cultivate systems for good governance and infrastructure development. Our efforts support the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, reduce risks that could put peace in jeopardy, and

focus on supporting the peace process, democracy and governance, education, health, and economic growth.

The United Nations Secretary General, Koffi Annan, recently stated that a durable peace in the south will not take hold until the crisis in the Darfur is resolved. Resolving the crisis in Darfur and implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement are interrelated issues. In my testimony today, I will discuss what we know about the current security situation in the Darfur region and its effects on humanitarian programming. I will also talk about the steps the U.S. along with our international and non-governmental partners are taking to prepare for a return to widespread conflict and displacement-- even as negotiations for the establishment of a robust UN peace-keeping force in Darfur continue.

Let me begin with a snapshot of the situation. Last week the UN placed the estimated number of people displaced within Sudan at 1.9 million. Almost all of these are found in Internally Displaced Persons camps – there are 60. Another 220,000 Darfurian refugees are across the border in eastern Chad. Approximately 13,000 humanitarian workers are currently in the region. 800 of these are international staff working for the United Nations, the Red Cross and non-governmental organizations.

The United States is by far the world's leader in ensuring that these organizations have the manpower and resources they need to mitigate the suffering in Darfur and Eastern Chad. The United States has provided more than \$1 billion dollars in humanitarian assistance to Darfur and Eastern Chad since the conflict began in FY 2003. Over \$400 million has been provided this fiscal year. We have consistently provided more than 60% of the food assistance distributed in the region. Last year, it was clear that we had prevented famine in Darfur, and had made real gains in health and protection. Now we face the risk of famine again, and the loss of other humanitarian gains that we've worked so hard to achieve.

In Darfur, a change in security status can mean that thousands—even hundreds of thousands of people become cut off from food or health assistance. According to the UN, if we compare the six months, February – July, in 2006 with the same six months in 2005 we will find that:

- Overall security incidents increased by 123 percent;
- Car-jackings of humanitarians went up by 230 percent;
- Banditry increased by 40 percent ;
- Security incidents involving non-governmental organizations went up by 76 percent;
- Security incidents targeting the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) increased by 913 percent;
- Armed clashes increased by 100 percent.

The only positive statistic for this time period was a 10% decrease in security incidents involving the UN – though this is overshadowed by the fact that in the last five months, the broader humanitarian community has had twelve of its own people killed in

Darfur. The most recent death involved a valued USAID partner, the International Rescue Committee, when one of its Sudanese volunteer nurses was killed in his clinic during a raid. This occurred in Hashaba in North Darfur. Days before, a worker with the International Committee of the Red Cross was killed.

The effect of this violence is that humanitarian supplies do not get to those who most desperately need it. WFP reports that due to insecurity it was unable to deliver food to approximately 355,000 people in North Darfur in August – the third consecutive month that many areas in North Darfur have not received a food distribution. The International Committee of the Red Cross – the organization that is most able to operate in insecure areas of Darfur – has had to halt activities in one of the opposition areas of North Darfur.

The fact is that security in Darfur has deteriorated to a point comparable to that at the conflict's peak in 2004. This deterioration has accelerated since May after the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement. While the international community has been struggling to support the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement, resistance to the agreement has been increasing in Darfur. It is a resistance not only seen in the increased activities of the non-signatory groups, but also in increasing tension in camps for the internally displaced, in increasing mistrust of African Union forces, and even in the harassment and intimidation of humanitarian workers.

Over the past several weeks the Government of National Unity has begun to implement its own stabilization plan – launching an organized military campaign to wipe out any opposition forces remaining in Darfur. Recent bombing campaigns in North and West Darfur, as well as reports of significant troop movements attest to the Government of National Unity's determination to act despite international condemnation. The government's campaign has already led to new displacement and suffering and will continue to do so if the violence does not immediately stop.

The African Union's Mission in Sudan currently provides the only refuge for Darfurian civilians fleeing the renewed violence, and African Union forces continue to offer Darfurian civilians hope that an international entity is monitoring the situation.

However, as resistance to the Darfur Peace Agreement has been growing in Darfur, African Union forces have increasingly become targets and have lost their neutrality in the eyes of some rebel groups. In some areas, African Union forces have had to reduce and even halt patrols—with devastating effect on the humanitarian community's ability to protect the displaced.

A complete withdrawal of the African Union's peacekeepers at this point represents a worse-case scenario for the humanitarian community, and I say this for several reasons:

- The withdrawal of peacekeepers will result in the further deterioration of security levels in Darfur, and humanitarian access will be further reduced.
- There are 1.9 million people in camps for the displaced who are completely dependent on humanitarian assistance right now in Darfur. Reduced humanitarian access to these people will result in hunger malnutrition, even starvation. People will be forced to move in search of help, and this makes them vulnerable to attack.

- No peacekeepers and a reduced international humanitarian presence will also mean that there are fewer witnesses in Darfur— a situation which will easily lead to increased humanitarian abuses and a return to the atrocities we have previously documented.

This is a domino effect that has already begun: In August the International Rescue Committee reported that after the African Union Mission in Sudan reduced its patrols around Kalma Camp in South Darfur, the incident of sexual assault against women trying to gather fire wood outside the camp increased from 2-3 per month to 200 in a 5 week period. There is already new displacement of tens of thousands in Darfur, and thousands of new refugees have moved into Chad.

Our current worse-case scenario magnifies the current deterioration ten-fold, and includes the renewed displacement of hundreds of thousands of people within Darfur and the movement of 100,000 new refugees into Chad. We have stockpiled food and non-food stocks in the region; we have modified our grants with partners so that they have the ability to adjust their programs as the situation changes in Darfur and Eastern Chad. We are working with other key donors – the United Kingdom’s Department For International Development and the European Commission’s Humanitarian Office in particular – to coordinate plans and identify resource gaps.

My staff will tell you that I often say: Hope is not a plan. And we’ve done our best to put a plan in place. But I would be lying if I tried to convince you that it is a great plan. Without peace keepers in Darfur, international workers will leave. We are focusing on trying to help our partners to maintain the provision of critical assistance through their Sudanese staff if international peacekeepers are forced out of Darfur. Our partners tell us that as long as these dedicated workers are able to serve without fear of being targets of harassment or violence, they should be able to continue to provide critical basic services. If, on the other hand, these workers are targeted – and I am afraid there is every reason to believe that this could occur – the people of Darfur will face catastrophe. Hope: despite our best efforts it remains a part of our plan. But it will not prevent disaster.

There is no doubt that the picture I have presented today is grim. However, my job is to make sure that we understand the impact of worsening security in Darfur, and that we try to prepare for it. If the UN re-hats the AU peacekeepers now, we may avert disaster. But time is running out.